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ERRATUM

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THE AIMS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ERNEST W. BURGESS*

University of Chicago

The first issue of *Social Problems* is another milestone in the history of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. It is not yet two years since a small group gathered in Chicago in September 1951 to discuss the desirability and feasibility of organizing this Society. Since then the Society has organized, held two annual meetings, joined in a regional conference with its sister organization, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, and is well along with plans for its third annual meeting to be held in September at Berkeley, California, in conjunction with the meeting of the American Sociological Society.

It is fitting at this time to restate the objectives of our Society and to define the role that is envisioned for this new Journal.

First, the organization of the Society is a recognition of the growing importance of research on social problems. There is the continuing challenge presented by the c r u c i a l situations confronting American society to the development of policies and programs of action. Certainly the knowledge gained from social science research is basic to wise formulation of policy and to the choice of effective programs of dealing with these situations.

A second purpose of the Society is to bridge the gap (which seems to be widening instead of closing) between sociological theory and the study of social problems. It is evident that an adequate theoretical framework is essential to obtain the maximum value from studies of specific problems such as those of juvenile delinquency, retirement in old age, community organization, cultural conflict and bureaucracy. Also, by employing a conceptual scheme, the probabilities are increased of making a contribution to sociological theory by research whose immediate aim is practical.

A third objective is to raise the standards of research. The study of social problems demands just as meticulous attention to the precise use of research methods and techniques as that of any other field of sociology. New methods should also be devised appropriate to the situation under investigation. Particularly relevant to the study of social problems are experimental and evaluative procedures based on the sociological analysis of the problem such as those employed in the Chicago Area Project and in the Highfields, New Jersey, Project, both of which are concerned with the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents.

A fourth aim is to raise the morale and to stimulate the productivity of workers in this field. This new organization is designed to provide the students of social problems with the interstimulation that comes from fellowship from engaging in a common enterprise and from the discussion of questions of aims and methods. Already plans are under way for organizing joint projects involving members of the Society who are scattered geographically but who have the same research interests.

A fifth purpose of the Society is to give its attention to conditions that facilitate the work of students

of social problems. Outstanding among these are freedom of research and freedom of teaching. Workers in this field are peculiarly open to attack by representatives of vested interests and of reactionary groups. They need the strong defense that comes from the objectivity and the high standards of their research. They require the protection of our traditional American guarantees of freedom of speech and inquiry. Conditions favorable for research include the setting up of research laboratories, regular provision for field work, release from teaching, grants for projects and funds for research assistants.

A sixth objective of the Society is to promote interdisciplinary co-operation in research with workers in allied fields such as those of anthropology, economics, psychology and social work. Social problems do not conform to the traditional division of fields among the social sciences. Where any given problem is now located may be almost a matter of historical accident. Then too, each discipline deals with only one aspect of a problem. A sociologist can go only so far in a study of a particular problem when he senses the need of the anthropological or the psychological approach to deal with a certain facet of the subject. Further progress requires collaboration in research of representatives of one or more other disciplines. The findings of much research at present are of limited value because the point of view and the research

methods of another discipline are not included.

In accomplishing these objectives a journal devoted to the field of social problems is indispensable. As a medium of communication and stimulation it performs the greatest service to the members of the Society and to social scientists in general.

Social Problems is dedicated to these aims of the Society. It will keep in the forefront its emphasis upon research on the problems of American society as providing the knowledge for sound social action. It will stress the application of conceptual formulations to hypotheses and research methods, thereby closing the present gap between sociological theory and the understanding of practical problems. In its careful screening of articles for publication it can go far in raising standards of research.

The new Journal will be a morale builder to workers in this field, stimulating them to undertake research of high quality and real significance. It will devote its attention to all conditions conducive to research, including the maintenance of freedom of research and teaching. It will join with such kindred publications as the *Journal of Social Issues* and *Human Organization* in promoting interdisciplinary exchange of ideas and cooperation in interdisciplinary research. In short, it will enable the Society for the Study of Social Problems to share its interests with a broader public and to accomplish its several missions more effectively.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN ETHNIC RELATIONS*

OTTO KLINEBERG

Columbia University

The story is told that Roentgen, when he was still in the early stages of his work on X-rays, was asked about the practical significance of his discoveries. He is said to have answered that he was a scientist, not a doctor or an engineer, and that, if he thought his X-rays had any useful applications, he would turn his research energies in a different direction.

Whether the story is true or not, it represents, although probably in exaggerated form, a point of view which still has its adherents. The argument between the protagonists of pure versus applied science (including social science) has abated somewhat in violence, but it continues nevertheless. Those of us who concern ourselves with social issues or social problems, in the hope that we can contribute something to the improvement of human relations, are not infrequently looked upon with suspicion, as if we were somehow proving unfaithful to our scientific Hippocratic Oath.

The fact remains that such a concern is growing rapidly, due partly to a change in attitude within the social science disciplines, partly to pressure from the outside. The demands are increasing upon us, to aid in programs of community improvement, to advise governmental and United Nations agencies regarding the effective-

ness of their procedures, to evaluate the human implications of technological change, to testify as "experts" in court cases involving ethnic relations. This list could be extended. (It should be added that sometimes we are *not* invited to participate in activities which appear to be in our field, as for example in certain aspects of psychological warfare.)

The added scope which this development has given to the practical implications of our disciplines has created new problems and new responsibilities. In leaving the ivory tower for the market-place, we have had to function in unfamiliar surroundings, and we have not always been secure in our knowledge of how to proceed. We have had to face on the one hand those who had no use for what we had to offer and who erected barriers in the way of our effectiveness, and, on the other, those who expected of us more than we were in a position to give. In addition, we have had always to strike the proper balance between scientific integrity and the desire to be useful.

Since we, as social scientists, are frequently asked to evaluate the programs of others, it seems reasonable that at least once in a while we should direct our attention to evaluating ourselves. In connection with ethnic relations, we tried, in the first joint meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the Society for the Study of Social Problems, to do just that. Jessie Bernard, Kenneth Clark and Stuart Cook were asked to take a critical look at the contributions which the social sciences have made in the field of ethnic relations, to assess the accomplish-

ments and the failures, to point to the most promising future developments. No attempt was made, in a relatively brief meeting, to cover the whole of such a complicated area. The participants had to choose specific points for emphasis, and give us only a few samples from their rich and varied experience. They have, however, shown us the way toward self-criticism and self-evaluation, and have made a definite contribution toward the understanding of the role of the social sciences in our complicated world.

It would be fine if their example could be followed by others.

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST AS AN EXPERT WITNESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS LITIGATION*

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During the past three years, the Legal Division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been making a frontal attack on state laws which require racially segregated elementary and high schools. For the first time these lawyers have extensively used expert social science testimony. This paper will attempt to describe the role of social scientists in the recent cases involving public school segregation and will discuss some of the problems which social scientists will have to face in their role as expert witnesses.

Thurgood Marshall (1), Special Counsel of the Legal Division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, states that antisegregation litigation should be considered in terms of *three* distinct periods: the first from 1896 to 1930; the second from 1930 to 1945; the third from 1945 to the present.

The period from 1896 to 1930 was dominated by the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* doctrine that "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes did not violate their constitutional rights. In spite of the fact that this was a case which involved the problem of segregation in intrastate transportation, its decision was used by States and Federal Courts to establish segregation in education and other aspects of American life with legal impunity and, as Marshall states it, "without any effort being made to analyze the legality of the segregation statutes involved". One might assume that the Plessy decision was an implicit reflection of the social science theory and knowledge available at the close of the 19th century. Since that time there have been substantial developments in social science theory, methods, and facts which raise questions concerning the contempory validity of the "separate but equal" doctrine.

In spite of this fact, the second phase of civil rights litigation approached the problem within the legal framework of the Plessy pre-

cedent. During this 1930 to 1945 phase, the lawyers of the NAACP began a legal attack to obtain the right for Negroes to attend graduate and professional schools of State Universities which barred their admission because of race. These cases were argued on the basis that either the state which had facilities for the training of white students had no facilities for the training of Negroes or that the facilities which the state provided for Negroes were inferior to those provided for whites. Upon the basis of these arguments, it was possible to obtain decisions which opened up state-supported graduate and professional schools to Negroes. These cases were fought and won within the legal framework of the Plessy doctrine. They represented the beginning of a planned legal strategy directed against racial segregation. The specific purpose of these cases at that time was to prove that separate was not only *not* equal, but that, if the separate institutions were really made equal, the financial burden would be so tremendous that the economy of these states could not sustain a dual system of education.

The latest stage of civil rights litigation (1945 to the present) represents an all-out attack against segregation in public education. Inherent in the earlier cases of this period was the direct challenge of the validity of segregation statutes as they applied to public education on the graduate and professional school level. The basic contention was that separate education on this level could not really be equal. Furthermore, it was too expensive. One of the first cases of this type was *Sweatt vs. University of Texas* which was argued in 1946.

The Sweatt case was the first of these cases in which expert social science testimony was presented and became a part of the argument and the legal record. Robert Red-field, anthropologist of the University of Chicago, testified that: "given a similar learning situation a Negro student tended to react the same as any other student and that there were no racial characteristics which had any bearing whatsoever to the subject of public education". This testimony was relevant to the argument that the segregation of students on the basis of race was an arbitrary and unreasonable classification.

The issues involved in the *McLaurin* case were even more directly concerned with the problem of segregation *per se*. In this case, McLaurin, the plaintiff, had been admitted to the Law School of the University of Oklahoma. He had the same teachers, was in the same building, had the same curriculum and was in the same classroom as were the white students. The University, however, required him to be seated apart from the other students. This case was brought to United States Supreme Court. The Court gave a unanimous decision supporting McLaurin's right to be treated the same as any other student. That decision stated:

"Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students . . .
"We concluded that the conditions under which this appellant is required to receive his education deprive him of his personal and present right to the equal protection of the laws . . . We hold that under these circumstances the 14th amendment precludes differences in treatment by the state based upon race . . ."

The language and emphasis of the court in these decisions encouraged the development of a new line of approach and testimony in the most recent cases which challenge the validity of racial segregation at the elementary and high school level. These cases were no longer brought within the framework of the Plessy doctrine of "separate but equal".

They assert that the fact of racial segregation itself is a violation of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the Negro as a citizen.

This new legal approach formed the basis for four of the five cases argued before the United States Supreme Court in January 1953: Clarendon, South Carolina; Topeka, Kansas; Wilmington, Delaware; and Richmond, Virginia. In addition to the testimony of professional educators, there was an extensive use of expert social science witnesses in these cases. The testimony of these witnesses formed a pattern involving the following specific points:

1—That racial classification for the purposes of educational segregation was arbitrary and irrelevant since the available scientific evidence indicates that there are no innate racial differences in intelligence or other psychological characteristics. (Otto Klineberg—Wilmington trial) (Robert Redfield—South Carolina) This line of testimony was consistently unchallenged by the attorneys for the states.

2—That contemporary social science interpretations of the nature of racial segregation indicates that it blocks communication and increases mutual hostility and suspicion; it reinforces prejudices and facilitates rather than inhibits outbreaks of racial violence.
(David Krech — at S o u t h Carolina—Jerome Brunner at Delaware, Brewster Smith, Isadore Chein and Alfred McClung Lee at Virginia)

3—That segregation has detrimental personality effects upon Negro children which impair their ability to profit from the available educational facilities. Segregation also has certain complex detrimental effects upon the personality and moral development of white children. (Kenneth Clark—South Carolina, Delaware and Virginia)

4—That the consequences of desegregation are in the direction of the improvement of interracial relations and an increase in social stability rather than an increase in violence or social chaos. (Practically all witnesses in each case)

5—That, if non-segregation can work on the graduate and professional level, it can work equally well on the elementary and high school level since children at this stage of development are more flexible in their attitudes and behavior.
(Mamie Phipps Clark—Virginia)

These main lines of social science testimony formed a foundation of fact and theory which supported the contention that state-imposed segregation, legally enforced, is a violation of the constitutional rights of the individuals who are its victims. Statutes requiring racial segregation in education are based upon arbitrary and unreasonable classifications of human beings; result in state-imposed determinants of stigma, inferior status, and inferiority feelings which inhibit the Negro child's ability to profit from the available educational opportunities; and contribute to social instability and the creation of a social climate in which interracial violence is more likely to occur.

In the five cases presented to the United States Supreme Court, this type of testimony is included in the record of four. Only in the Washington, D.C. case was this testimony not emphasized. The reaction to the social science testimony varied from case to case. In South Carolina the social science testimony

was challenged only by cross-examination of these witnesses. The state, however, made no effort to counter this testimony by the presentation of social science experts in the development of its case. This was true also of the Delaware case. The lower court in both of these cases did not base its decision on the testimony of the social scientists. The majority opinion of the three-judge court in the South Carolina trial largely ignored the expert testimony of social scientists. The minority opinion written by Judge Waring referred to the uncontested testimony of the social scientists in finding that segregation harmed the personality of children and interfered with their ability to learn.

In the Dalaware trial, Chancellor Seitz mentioned the testimony of the social scientists but stated that the compelling legal argument of the inequality of facilities offered the Negro children demanded that they be admitted to the school in their district which was previously reserved for white children. This opinion was sustained by the Delaware Court of Appeals.

The decision of the lower court in the Kansas case was unique in that it included a finding of fact that segregation was psychologically damaging to the personality of children. In spite of this finding, which gave judicial recognition to the valdiity of the social science testimony, this court stated that the issue of the validity of segregation itself was such a crucial constitutional issue that only the United States Supreme Court itself should pass upon it.

The reaction of the defense to the social science testimony was quite different in the Virginia case. This was the first of these cases in which the state of Virginia called its own expert witnesses in an attempt to counteract the expert testimony of the NAACP witnesses.

In addition to professional educators, they presented a psychiatrist, Dr. Kelly, and two psychologists. One of the psychologists, Mr. Buck, was qualified as an expert with acceptable experience as a clinical psychologist; the other psychologist was Professor Henry E. Garrett, an ex-president of the American Psychological Association.

The major points, stated or implicit, in the testimony of these experts involved the statement of their belief that the white and Negro people of Virginia were not ready to give up segregated schools; that the change from segregated schools to integrated schools had to be a gradual one and could not be accomplished by a legal decision; and that psychology and the social sciences had not yet developed methods which could indicate the personality effects of segregation.

However, when pressed on cross-examination, neither of the two psychologists asserted that segregated schools were socially or psychologically beneficial. The following quotations indicate that, on the c o n t r a r y , they substantially affirmed the general pattern of the expert testimony presented by the NAACP.

Testimony of Prof. Garrett:
Q . . . Do you consider, Prof. Garrett, that racial segregation as presently practiced in the United States and Virginia, is a social situation which is adverse to the individual?
A . . . In general, wherever a person is cut off from the main body of society or a group, if he is put in a position that stigmatizes him and makes him feel inferior, I would say Yes, it is detrimental and deleterious to him.

Testimony of Mr. Buck, Psychologist
"I do not think that one can possibly defend separation of one group from another, if the separated group is stigmatized or put into an inferior position . . ."

Testimony of Dr. Kelly, Psychiatrist
Q. Do you think that would really be bettter for him from the stand-

point of his own personality and development?

A. Well, that is a little difficult for me to answer, because I deal primarily with the treatment of the individual, and I am not sure that I would say that it would be better for him. I would say that he would do just as well over there. I think that segregation is going to end, but I am not going to get into the philosophizing here, as the others did, and I think that there is a way that it can be made to end so that it will be a much smoother process and would be experienced in it than were it to be ended abruptly.

Q. You mean over a long-range period?

A. Yes, over a period of time. I think it could me made to change, but I think it is going to take some making by both sides.

On cross examination the testimony of this psychiatrist was focused as follows:

Q. As a psychiatrist, do you feel that racial segregation is a social situation which has some effect upon personality development of the individual?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. As a psychiatrist, do you think that social situation is adverse or beneficial to the personality?

A. I would have to say that it is adverse to the personality.

An analysis of the psychological and psychiatric testimony presented by the State of Virginia in its attempt to maintain segregated schools reveals that each of their expert witnesses agreed with the testimony of the witnesses presented by the NAACP on the fact that racial segregation has adverse effects upon personality development when it is perceived as a condition contributing to inferiority feelings and associated with some stigma for the segregated group. On this point, there was no disagreement among the experts called by either side.

In evaluating the testimony of the witnesses who were called by both sides in these school cases, it is clear that there were no essential differences among these social

scientists on the crucial issue of the detrimental effects of segregation. Now that the precedent of admitting social science testimony has been established, it is certain that social scientists will be used in similar cases in the future.

The future use of expert social science witnesses in civil rights litigation, however, raises some fundamental questions concerning the objectivity of testimony, the basis of testimony—(research data, theoretical considerations, or personal opinion), and complex ethical considerations. As the gap between social science and legal considerations narrows, it becomes increasingly necessary for the social scientist to deal effectively with the responsibilities which accompany his activities in this area. This is particularly true since the present school cases may be viewed as merely the beginning of this type of social science—legal collaboration.

This additional role of the social scientist places upon him at least the following burdens: The social scientist who participates in civil rights or civil liberties litigation as an expert witness must exercise the maximum degree of care and objectivity in the collection and interpretation of the relevant data. Further, he must be clear and courageous in his social values and he must be willing to assume social responsibilities even under conditions that would place him in a position contrary to the social beliefs which are popular at a particular time and place.

As the collaboration between social science and the legal profession increases, it will be necessary for the professional societies among the s o c i a l and psychological sciences to develop safeguards against possible ethical abuses; e.g.,flagrant manifestations of prejudice, distortion of data and deliberately misleading interpreta-

tions. While it would be impossible to prevent honest disagreement among social scientists reflecting differences in interpretations and emphasis, it is nonetheless important to minimize the possibility of the presentation of conflicting testimony by equally competent scientists concerning the available facts. Professional organizations among social scientists now have the obligation to set up some kind of machinery which will prevent social scientists from being haunted by the same spectacle which has long bedeviled the field of psychiatry—two or more psychiatrists offering with equal certainty contradictory testimony concerning the sanity of a given defendent.

If social scientists assume the responsibility of developing their own safeguards, the social and psychological sciences are at present on the threshold of making direct and significant contributions to the progress of a rapidly changing society. The social science testimony in the public school segregation cases has opened the door of the courts to the social sciences. This now makes possible the direct use of social science findings in the process of social change.

REFERENCE

1. Thurgood Marshall, "An Evaluation of Recent Efforts to Achieve Racial Integration in Education through Resort to the Court," *Journal of Negro Education*, (Summer, 1952), pp. 315-325.

THE COLD WAR AND AMERICAN DOMESTIC PROBLEMS*

BYRON L. FOX

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American social scientists have given but little systematic attention to the relation of the "Cold War" to the domestic problems of their society. Textbooks on social problems or social disorganization devote a chapter or two at the end to the "problem of war." Similarly, textbooks dealing with international relations tend to ignore or subordinate social problems as they are generally defined by sociologists.

It is, therefore, important to develop the implications of the *social problem* concept at the world level;

*Excerpt from paper read at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems held in Atlantic City, September 3-5, 1952.

to examine the interdependence of national and international problems. For this purpose, the *value-clash* definition of social problems (although only one approach) is especially useful because it may reduce the effect of bias on the part of the describer-analyst. In terms of this frame of reference, a primary clash of values is going on within the minds of Americans. This value conflict relates to both American domestic social problems and to world problems.

- Several clashing value-clusters can be easily recognized:

"Free" enterprise vs. planning. In our domestic economy the belief is deeply held that, under the stimulus of the profit motive, pri-

vately owned businesses competing with each other result in the greatest social good. Planning on an overall basis for our American society is not accepted as an ideal; that is, it is not generally cherished as a value. Actually there is a large volume of military planning carried on at the world level. This is regarded as a justifiable exception necessary to achieve foreign policy objectives. This conflict in the value system of the United States is summarized by Williams in terms of "tension between *values centering around the concept of the responsible individual personality versus values organized around categorical organic conceptions*". (1)

Domestic considerations vs. world requirements. When the apparent requirements of foreign policy conflict with domestic interests, the latter may take precedence —that is, foreign policy may be subordinated to domestic welfare. Thus at the moment it appears that reductions will be made in military expenditures and foreign aid to achieve if possible a balanced Federal budget and a reduction in taxes. This clash may be stated as *the conflict between particularistic, segmental, or localistic values* on the one hand, and the *formal-universalistic values of Western tradition* on the other. (1)

In the following introduction to an analysis of social problems at both the national and international levels, the effects of American foreign policy upon the domestic scene will be examined first. After that there will be a brief discussion of the bearing of domestic problems upon the position of the United States in the Cold War and upon world social problems in general.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

First, it is pointed out by some observers that the channelling of effort to the production of miltiary materials for defense against Soviet aggression and protection of our system results in the curtailing of effort and expenditures for domestic programs, such as housing, social security, and other forms of social welfare. Heavy commitments for military purposes can conceivably prevent the solution of some of the domestic problems, slow the process of solution, accentuate the problems, or even produce additional major problems. For example, there is evidence that the re-armament program has increased the concentration of ownership and control of American Industry. This trend is judged by some observers to be undesirable.

Second, observers point to the curtailment and limitation of civil liberties and a resultant diminution of fundamental criticism of American culture patterns. In the name of national unity to speed the defense effort and to protect against subversives, it is claimed that there is a trend toward limiting the freedoms which have been taken for granted by Americans as an essential element in their social system.

Third, it is pointed out that inroads have been made upon our traditional boldness and imagination in dealing with domestic problems. These inroads are illustrated by attitudes of timidity, negativism, and hysteria. This has been interpreted as the rise of a set of anti-Soviet attitudes, with a stress upon opposing everything Russian, however good it might be judged otherwise. Archibald MacLeish points out that such attitudes have a damping effect upon the expression in a bold, constructive way, of those qualities which have characterized American society. (2)

Such criticisms of present policies in terms of their effects upon our domestic economy represent clashes as to the interpretation of basic American value-orientations as they relate to adjustment at the

international level. What these observers are saying is that there is danger of undermining at home the way of life which our foreign policy is designed to protect. To these critics one of the best weapons in the war for the minds of men is the demonstration of a dynamic capacity for the solution of the problems of a democratic society. Their fear is that the effectiveness of this weapon is being lessened.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS NOW OF WORLD IMPORTANCE

Problems previously taken for granted as purely domestic are now international in importance because of their relation to the world scene and because of the Soviet-American competition for the loyalties of other peoples. This competition gives us an international lever which we can apply to certain domestic social problems. A few examples may be cited to show how problems usually considered as *our own* have been raised to the international level.

One is the area of race relations. Incidents involving race relations are used to our disadvantage in a world where more than half of the inhabitants are colored and are becoming more sensitive to treatment accorded to them by the white peoples. Our government recognizes that our relations with other nations are injured and our power position jeopardized by evidences of racial discrimination.

Another factor of world importance is the state of our economy. We are so strong and influential in sheer economic strength that depression in the United States brings depression to large areas of the world, and prosperity here tends to bring it to the rest of the world. This is important in relation to economic aid and technical assistance programs which admittedly have tended to stabilize our domestic economy as well as to increase living standards and economic development in other countries.

A third factor is the working of our democratic political system: the issues of civil rights and of honesty in government. All of these are intently watched by skeptical observers throughout the world and thus have a world-wide significance. This importance is recognized abroad, as illustrated by the keen interest of the outside world in the national elections of 1952. How other peoples regard our democratic system is significant in relation to the war for men's minds.

In brief, major attention has been given by American sociologists to domestic or national social problems, with a tendency to neglect their relation to problems at the world level. Both the internal and external problems of American society may be profitably considered in terms of clashes in American value-orientations. At both levels problems result from human interaction, and are a part of cultural behavior with its conflicts and social arrangements for dealing with conflicts. Accordingly, it is logical to apply well-established sociological principles, concepts and schemes of analysis at the world level.

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1. Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, N.Y.: Knopf, 1951 p. 441.

2. Archibald MacLeish, "The Conquest of America", *Atlantic Monthly* (August, 1949), pp. 17-22.

SOME REMARKS ON THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS*

DONALD V. McGRANAHAN

Department of Social Affairs
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I think we can all agree that not much is really known about the human implications of technological change in countries that are c a l l e d economically "under-developed." There is as yet little solid evidence on which to base conclusions. We cannot readily generalize from studies in Western culture, because the conditions are so different in the economically under-developed areas.

It has been suggested that it would be more appropriate to go back in history and study the implications of technological change in Western Europe during the early period of industrialization in the 18th and 19th centuries. But there are difficulties here, too. The under-developed countries of today will not go through the same patterns of development that the industrialized countries of the West have gone through, for the very reason that this latter development has taken place and its end-products are available for use elsewhere. Thus, the under-developed areas without mechanical transportation will not first adopt crude railroads and steam engines, then early models of automobiles, and finally airplanes. The airplane in some areas has come even sooner than railroads and automobiles. Similarly, the radio is entering into villages where literacy is still lacking and newspapers and books have never circulated. In certain parts of the Middle East, individuals are passing directly from nomadic life into modern industrial employment. Governments—particularly in certain parts of Asia—are today deliberately encouraging from above the formation of labor unions, cooperatives and other social instrumentalities which developed but slowly, and often with governmental opposition, in Western Europe.

This leap-frogging in technical change creates novel, emergent problems and the social scientist must hesitate to play the role of a seer and prophet. There is a further complication. If social science, which is itself a recently evolved technique of the industrialized West, comes to be applied effectively in economically under-developed areas, then the social scientist may at times be placed in the situation of having to include, in his analysis of the implications of modern technology in such areas, the implications of his own analysis. For example, demographic analyses and projections may actually affect population growth through governmental policy and action.

I do not wish to exaggerate these various difficulties, however. There are without question important lessons that can be learned from the past. One point that has impressed me recently while reading E. H. Carr's *The New Society* is the possibility that certain conditions which have been considered socially undesirable consequences of development in the West may in fact have played a functional role in the process of development. Ac-

cording to Carr, the situation in which unemployed men in England were allowed to go hungry in the early part of the 19th century was the result of the demand created by the industrial revolution "to drive a hitherto predominantly rural working class into urban workshops and factories." (1) In fact, various existing forms of public assistance and relief for the able-bodied were abolished by the Poor Law of 1834. Two possible methods of getting labor into the new industries were considered during this period—starvation and forced labor. Forced labor was judged troublesome and contrary to human dignity, and the policy of starving labor into factories was followed (though not necessarily in a conscious and deliberate manner). Not all historians may agree with Carr's interpretation (2), but it does suggest that the best way to avoid some of the undesirable social consequences of technological change may be to inquire into the underlying reasons for their occurrence and to determine whether there is not some function they are fulfilling which can be fulfilled by more desirable means—in the case in question, for example, by the use of positive incentives to employment change.

It seems generally agreed among social scientists that new techniques and developments can be most effectively introduced into a society if they are fused with and made an extension of traditional forms and values in the society. This course of action, however, may also have its unfortunate consequences, for relatively harmless factors in the traditional pattern may acquire a social virulence when brought together with a new pattern. Thus, the work of children in helping in farm duties in under-developed rural areas would not appear to represent a particularly grievous social ill, but the tradition

of child labor becomes such an ill when it is extended into factory employment. Sharing one's economic opportunities with relatives is a desirable custom under many circumstances in under-developed areas, but not when it is transferred to governmental work or to employment in large impersonal industries.

It would not be too difficult to draw up an extensive list of human and social ills that may attend technological change, whether as a result of the disruption or the perservation of old patterns. Let us not, however, be so overwhelmed by these considerations as to forget that millions of people today live in miserable circumstances of disease and want, and that technological change is a fundamental means of improving their lot. At times social scientists who are liberal and forward-looking citizens of their own countries give an impression of conservatism when they look at under-developed areas and stress only the dangers and evils of development. There will be mistakes made, we can be sure, and programmes introduced with the best of intentions will sometimes have unfortunate consequences. But no large-scale human endeavors are ever carried out without mistakes. We must anticipate as many as possible and deal promptly with those that occur. The regrettable thing would be to block progress through over-concentration upon negative aspects.

This century promises quite clearly to be a century of tremendous efforts to achieve economic and social development in the under-developed areas of the world. One can see evidence of this not only in the recent growth of international and bilateral programmes of technical assistance, but also in the fact that the newly-found nationalism of a number of less-developed countries, particularly in

Asia, represents an economic and social movement as well as a political movement. It is a protest against second-class status in any and all spheres.

The challenge before social scientists is to conduct research that will provide positive indications of paths to take, not only warnings and stop-signs. Some of the problems that must be faced are admittedly of an awesome size and complexity. For example, can peoples enjoy the material advantages of knowledge and technology without losing certain non-material values that reside in their traditional kinship systems and community life? (3) In some ways concern with this subject resembles the fear that Western Europe symbolized in the legend of Faust.

There are, I think, certain values and attitudes that must undergo change if the society is to undergo effective economic and social development through technological means. These include attitudes and values that are intimately bound together with a static, land-based economy. In such an economy the amount of wealth tends to remain constant; and the increase of wealth of one group has often meant—on simple mathematical grounds—the lessening of wealth of others (through seizures of land, exorbitant rents and shares, high interest rates on money, legal stratagems, etc.). Those who have very little in such societies are not inclined to risk that little in new propositions. Savings tend to be hoarded rather than invested, changes proposed from outside the local community are often regarded with suspicion as devices for exploitation, and the cooperation and confidence that operate within the in-group are not readily extended to out-groups. Such an orientation cannot be consistent with technological development which requires investment, experimentation, and a degree of confidence in others.

In considering the spiritual losses that may follow upon technological development, we must not overlook the possibility that there may also be spiritual gains. Technological knowledge as a means of wealth largely escapes the concept of ownership and is more readily given to others than is land or material wealth. In an economy that is constantly expanding (because of the accelerating curve of scientific and technological knowledge), all members of society can increase their wealth without loss to any; self-interest or group interest may coincide with altruistic and humanitarian interest, in the sense that the augmenting of income and welfare in general, including particularly that of labor and lower-income groups, serves to promote a large consumption and large production of goods which modern economic enterprise requires in order to flourish. Cooperation and confidence among larger segments of mankind are facilitated.

In connection with the whole question of values, we must acknowledge the intellectual service that the cultural anthropologists have rendered by emphasizing the relativity of values. There are few of us today who have not been deeply affected in our thinking by their work. But there is a certain danger if the objective anthopological fact that local values are defined by local cultural patterns is itself extended into an ethical principle that local values are therefore to be accepted with out further ado. Certainly this would not yield an adequate basis for international action. Under such a conception, we could not, for example, advocate "compulsory" primary education. It is desirable and necessary to take into account local needs and values and to consider the feasibility of action in terms of local attitudes. This is a first rule of technical

assistance. But it seems to me to be stretching the principle of cultural relativity too far if it is made to run counter to the principle of education into new norms and values, when the old ones are patently based upon local ignorance or unawareness of alternatives and are demonstrably undesirable from a humanitarian point of view.

In conclusion, let me repeat my plea that in viewing the human i m p l i c a t i o n s of technological change we do not become so fascinated by the bad as to forget the good, and so protective of the present cultures of under-developed areas as to wish to preserve these cultures against the very idea of progress which we embrace for ourselves.

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3. "Every serious student of colonial affairs realizes that there is a wide discrepancy between what we aim at in colonial policy and what we actually achieve. We aim at promoting better living through agricultura!, veterinary and educational policies. We succeed most in promoting material development, and least in promoting welfare in terms of human happiness, and satisfying human relationships. Thus, if we judge the operation of colonial policy objectively by a survey of results rather than of intentions, we become conscious of a conflict between 'development' and 'welfare'; between 'community' based on common values and informed by qualities of fellowship, friendly cooperation, tolerance and understanding, and a material development which promotes a competitive individual self-interest, and which leads to conflicts and tensions between groups and individuals of an intensity previously quite foreign to the clan and tribal communities of earlier days. And we have to ask whether between 'community' and 'development' there is not some inherent incompatibility, or whether the trouble arises from within ourselves, from the lack of full understanding of the problem with which we have to deal."

From T. R. Batten, "The Community and Development," *Corona*, III (September, 1951) p. 334.

NEEDED RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY*

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Social psychiatry may be regarded as the study of social determinants in the etiology, therapy and prevention of personality disorders. (18) In recent years the human behavior disciplines have converged toward common problems of behavior pathology in the recognition that the situational and cultural fields within which deviations occur are no longer the province of any artificially circumscribed subject matter. No summary of these trends can be attempted here. (4) For the purpose of the present article, research in social psychiatry will be pragmatically regarded as a scientific study dealing with the way in which elements of social organization are related to the development of neurotic or psychotic behavior, its treatment, or its prevention. To the extent that its focus of attention requires special training in psychology, anthropology, psychiatry, or sociology, the issues involved require interdisciplinary cooperation of such specialists.

Comparative expenditures for research are a clue to cultural preference. For every dollar spent in psychiatric research, $2,500 finds its way into industrial research. Within the health field, cancer spends $8.00 per victim on research, infantile paralysis $94.00 per victim, tuberculosis $22.00 per victim, but mental illness only 87c. Within the field of medicine proper, psychiatric research receives only one sixty-fifth of all expenditures for medical research. (13) The co-operative nature of research in social psychiatry makes it even more expensive than medical psychiatric research. The former cannot advance until the community enlarges the support of such ventures.

Social psychiatry is distinct from the mental health movement which has aroused the public to give more aid to its program. A number of mental health organizations have stressed the proposition that one half of the hospital beds in the U.S. are occupied by mental patients. But as Dayton has shown, one mental hospital bed in Massachussetts accommodated 1.27 patients in 1937, while a general hospital bed took care of 23 patients during the same year. Assuming that these rates are fairly representative of the nation as a whole, this gives only one patient with a mental disorder for every 18 with predominantly somatic ailments. (2) The need for increased facilities is very great, but it can be exaggerated. It cannot be assumed that the increase of treatment facilities necessarily runs parallel with the kind of research envisaged by social psychiatry, especially since the latter might eventually lead to case finding and treatment methods outmoding the present ones. Social psychiatry, then, cannot confuse its job with that of the mental health movement. It must make its own contribution in its own way.

The present paper will focus attention on five issues alone: (1) Establishing the incidence of mental disorders, (2) Finding the relation of legal policies to commitment rates, (3) Discovering differentials in community tolerance for the psychiatric cases, (4) The refinement of the ecological method

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as an aid to case-finding, and (5) Utilization of case records for an analysis of family patterns related to the development of mental illness.

THE INCIDENCE OF MENTAL DISORDERS

With regard to the first issue, there is a serious deficiency of reliable statistics on the incidence of mental illness. Knowledge of the problem is based on estimates from an earlier period with a narrow basis of sampling. Dublin, basing his figures on the Mental Hygiene Study in Baltimore and the Williamson County Study in Tennessee (both in the thirties) estimates that between 8,500,000 and 15 million Americans are suffering from mental disorders or will suffer from them at some time in their lives. (3) An earlier study by Landis and Page concludes that one out of twenty people, counted from the age of fifteen, would, in his lifetime, enter a psychiatric hospital for treatment. (8) Rennie and Woodward state that one person out of ten in the course of his life will need treatment for some mental illness. (16) The Ohio State Survey of mental health in Miami County, Ohio shows that about one in five elementary school children has poor mental health of varying degrees of seriousness. (11)

Since all these estimates, with the exception of the Miami County study, are from ten to twenty years old, the primary need is for a nation-wide survey of the incidence of mental illness, or, if that is impossible, of its prevalence.* A project of this kind should have the scope of the National Health Survey of 1935-36 and might possibly

*Incidence refers to the number of cases in a specified time (one year) per unit of population as determined by periodic sampling. Prevalence gives the number of cases per unit of population ascertainable on the day of the census.

combine studies of both somatic and psychiatric disorders. It is important to note, however, that unless this type of research is periodic, its value is severely limited. Only if completed at regular intervals will it enable us to resolve a still undetermined issue: has the *real* incidence of mental disorders been rising, and if so, at what rate? Today, Malzberg and Dayton give affirmative answers to this question; Landis and Page a negative one. (10) Goldhamer and Marshall lean toward the negative in qualified form by stating that there has been no long-term increase during the last century in the incidence of psychoses of early and middle life. (6) Even periodic surveys, however, are still far from ideal. The use of a standardized method of notification for psychiatric illness could eventually obviate the need for such surveys. It is certainly utopian to expect this in the near future but this does not mean that the highest possible standards for registering the appearance of mental disorders can be wholly relinquished.

LEGAL POLICIES AND COMMITMENT RATES

The second issue has to do with statistics on psychotics reported by state hospitals. Twenty-six states have provision for optional jury trial if requested, 37 states have formal involuntary commitment, 11 states allow commitment after examination by a commission of experts, 11 other states have involuntary commitment after examination by physicians only, 40 states have voluntary admission laws, 30 states allow temporary observational commitment with court order, 9 states have a similar period without court order, and 30 states have emergency commitment without court order. (1) Errors result from disregarding these differentials.

At all events, the need for research so designed as to show the

influence of commitment policies in the 48 states is clear. Some evidence shows that voluntary commitment laws increase first admissions considerably, that more psychoneurotics take advantage of voluntary commitment than psychotics, and that laws providing for temporary observation without court order, tend to increase the figures for admission markedly.* Recognition of these differences would refine the statistics of patients in mental hospitals.

COMMUNITY TOLERANCE DIFFERENTIALS

A third question on which research is needed is the problem of community tolerance for the psychiatrically ill, particularly the way in which this factor affects casefinding as well as commitment rates. Owen, in her critique of Faris and Dunham's results, presents figures from the Logansport State Hospital (Indiana) showing that 83% of the paranoid schizophrenics would be apparent in secondary contacts, 86% of the manics, but only 41% of the catatonics and depressives. (14) While her category of "secondary contacts" is most difficult to set up for research purposes, her evidence is suggestive for future studies in its awareness of differential community tolerance.

A related study by Hsu in Peiping reveals that families refer patients more often when there are symptoms of restlessness, physical complaints, and delusions; while police refer more patients when they make homicidal attacks, show confusion and wandering, or make suicidal attempts. (7) References of

this nature point up the need for evaluating variables in referral. It may be police, social agency, psychiatrist, physician, family, or friends who initiate action leading to hospitalization. It is significant to discover, in a given number of psychiatrically diagnosed cases, which ones are identified by each of these sources, the type of case most often revealed by each, and the symptoms most decisive in leading to action toward commitment. A number of studies in rural areas, villages, small towns and cities, would not only help to establish the variable amount of tolerance in these areas, but would also focus attention on the gaps in casefinding where one or more factors were missing (social agencies or therapists in rural areas), or on the differentials of discovery in urban areas where, in some cases, major action is initiated by police, and in others by social agencies or families. This might account for the variability of first admissions in more concrete and specific terms than generalized reference to the diffuse characteristics of natural areas in ecology, and would serve as an important supplement to the latter. Eventually it would have great practical value for public health and mental health authorities in suggesting ways to supplement present case-finding methods. Not the least of its values would be new tools of analysis to interpret the raw data of commitment statistics.

IMPROVED ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Closely related to the above and overlapping with it, is the need for working out a refinement of the ecological method in the future. This is neither the time nor the place for a systematic analysis of the ecological studies of mental disorders and their distribution. It is, however, possible to suggest that both continuity and modification of

*Interview with Royal Grossman, M.D., Court Psychiatrist, Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, Cleveland, Ohio. Estimates made by Dr. Grossman indicate trends observed on the basis of experience with probate court operating under a voluntary commitment law.

the ecological contribution are needed. Continuity, because Faris and Dunham's initial research and the follow-up studies to test their results by Manheim in Kansas City, Reuss in Milwaukee, Sullenger in Omaha, Dee in St. Louis, and Schroeder in Peoria, have left a number of unanswered questions waiting to be explored. (5)

For example, Dee found a pattern of the senile psychoses in St. Louis that was random, in contrast with the more concentrated areal rates in Chicago. Manheim discovered a higher incidence of manic-depressive rates in the zone of transition in Kansas City than appeared in any of the other studies. (5, Schroeder) In contrast with St. Louis, Cleveland had a low negative correlation between schizophrenic rates and mobility. The relation between paresis and mobility is positiv · ωι Chicago but negative in Cleveland and St. Louis. (5, Queen) Research on these and other similar discrepancies has literally ceased since the early forties, partly because ecological studies are less in the main current today than they were ten years ago.

The careful critiques of the ecological method, however, open up new avenues of orientation. If the concentric zone analysis is a crude instrument, there are at hand more sophisticated ones that offer clues to new and more solidly based hypotheses relating mental disorders with urban areas. In addition to the variables presented by the newer ecology, there are still others suggested by Warner in his Index of Status Characteristics relating status to residence factors. (19) By a flexible combination of the two approaches, it may be possible to relate both ecological and class variables in a meaningful way, increase analytical power, and gain wider applicability to the study of different communities. Such an attempt would also help to remove

class-status elements in the incidence of mental disorders from the intuitive and impressionistic stage in which they are often found today. (17)

FAMILY VARIABLES REVEALED IN CASE RECORDS

Finally there remains the highly important task of discovering family constellations in the etiology of mental disorders. Clinical experience has furnished a host of clues to early home patterns of interaction resulting in neurotic and psychotic responses, but a systematic effort to ascertain the relative frequency of such interactive relations is a major need. Initial efforts have small samples but are significant nevertheless. (12) A more extensive study like that of Lantz on 1,000 psychiatrically diagnosed cases in the Army Air Force gives further clues on research design. (9) Researches based on case records have certain limitations since case records are prepared as an aid to therapy rather than a research tool for statistical purposes. A recent contribution by Preston, Mudd, Peltz and Froscher shows that investigators can be trained to evaluate case records and abstract them so as to obtain objectively verifiable results. (15) Their findings show that future research utilizing case records can proceed through two stages of development. The first or pilot stage can appropriate the case records now available in psychiatric hospitals, mental hygiene clinics, social agencies, clinical psychologists' offices and pyschiatrists' offices as raw data. These in turn can be abstracted into codifiable form by workers specially trained for the purpose and results checked for reliability on the basis of consistency in judgment of the abstracters. Pilot studies of this sort on a sufficient number of cases in properly sampled areas could give a

more systematic understanding of family configurations for different diagnostic categories and their relation to variables like residence, class status, ethnic and racial membership, sex, educational level, religious affiliation, and others.

In the last analysis, however, the pilot studies would have their chief value as precursors of more adequate case records in the future, and for the construction of standard data sheets to be used by counselors, case workers, psychiatric social workers, public health nurses, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatrically oriented pediatricians, obstetricians, gerontologists, general practitioners, industrial counselors, school guidance workers and the like. These pre-tested schedules might then point the way to more scientific data in the future about family configurations and their relation to other socioeconomic factors. In time this research function and the codification of results might conceivably be absorbed by public health authorities in cooperation with social scientists.

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CLASS AND CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS IN A CALIFORNIA TOWN*

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This paper attempts to do three things: to describe a new method for ascertaining the degree of class awareness in a community; to present findings on the relationship between subjective and objective aspects of class in one community; and to indicate the need for comparative studies of many American communities.

For his sabbatical year, 1951-52, the author was given a grant by the Columbia University Council on Research in Social Sciences to study the values found among mem-

*This article is a slight elaboration of a paper entitled "A New Social Psychological Approach to Social Class", which was delivered before the Eastern Sociological Society, March 28, 1953.

bers of differing socioeconomic groups in a western community. Ventura was chosen, a California coastal city of between 15,000 and 20,000, located some 70 miles above Los Angeles and 30 miles below Santa Barbara. Ventura is a county seat residential city, and a commercial and industrial center for the nearby oilfields and agricultural areas.

Curiously enough, despite all the talk about the greater democracy and equalitarianism of the west, no one has studied stratification in a sizable and "typical" community in the western third of our country. (2) W. Lloyd Warner, after he and his colleagues had studied class in cities of the east, south and m i d w e s t, decided that other communities of America are similar in social structure. (4, pp. xiv-xv) On the other hand, investigators for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, studying a variety of farming communities in six sections of the country, found great differences among them with respect to class and status relationships. (3) Obviously all American communities are alike in some ways, but it seems important for social scientists to study the degrees of likeness and difference among them. How does Ventura compare with other cities already studied?

All investigators of social class face very real problems of method. Practically all studies of class are social psychological in character, which involves the obtaining of both subjective and objective data, but there is remarkably little agreement as to the precise procedures to be employed. Warner stresses "evaluated participation" as a criterion of class; that is, getting people's reactions about an individual's position on the social scale. Although he notes great class consciousness, he does not make it a criterion for class, nor does he have a specific method for

determining it. (5) Centers, by contrast, makes class consciousness basic to his concept of class; he calls classes "psychosocial groupings" which are essentially subjective in character. (1) His basic question for determining class is "Which class would you say you belonged in—the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class?". He then proceeds to secure data on the intensity of the belief.

Pondering about methods, the author concluded that investigators of class typically assume a high degree of awareness of class on the part of their respondents. Thus when a person states that Mr. X is middle class, or when he says that he himself is middle class, the interviewer thereby assumes that this respondent demonstrates knowledge and awareness of, and perhaps interest in, class. But does he, actually? It seems, rather, that when an interviewer presents a set of categories, the respondent may very well pick one without much understanding. A really necessary first step, therefore, is to discover whether or not class is a significant variable in people's thinking.

After pre-testing, the author put the following question to the cross-section of 200 respondents which made up the sample of Ventura residents studied. This question, which was asked before any mention was made of class, status or other social differential, was worded as follows:

"What would you say are the most important *differences* among the people of Ventura? That is, what different groups or categories would you divide them into?"

As can be seen, this question is a kind of projective technique—a disguised means for disclosing a person's thoughts and feelings. The answers were classified in two ways: 1) according to first answers given, on the theory that one's first

reaction is the best clue to his basic or typical frame of reference; and 2) according to all answers given (338) by the 200 respondents, since this figure might give the best overall picture of the thinking prevalent in the community. Actually percentages for the categories are quite similar in the two lists, as can be seen from the following table.

about half the occupational answers are placed with those categorized as class or economic, we observe that about 35%-40% of the answers are oriented toward class or socioeconomic status. And, be it noted, we have somewhat more, approximately 40% to 50%, which are not so oriented.

What is the significance of all this? It is important to know how

TABLE I—DISTRIBUTION OF ANSWERS TO QUESTION REGARDING THE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES FOUND AMONG THE PEOPLE OF VENTURA

Category of Response	Per Cent of First Answers (N Equals 200)	Per Cent of All Answers (N Equals 338)
Class or Status	17	11
Economic	14	20
Occupational	13	15
Old-Timers vs. Newcomers	9	9
Religious	8	10
Ethnic	6	9
Attitudinal	4	7
Residential Area	2	4
Miscellaneous	15	7
"There Are No Differences"	2	1
Don't Know	2	1
No Answer	8	6
	100%	100%

Inspection of the above table shows that the class or status (e.g. "upper, middle and lower") and the economic (e.g. "the rich and the poor") categories in each of the lists total 31%. The answers in the occupational category sometimes lean toward class or economic status (e.g. "landowners, business men, average working people, and those with lesser paying jobs"). But sometimes they did not, as when "oil people" or "Navy people" were mentioned, meaning all who worked for the oil companies or who had jobs at one of the two nearby Navy bases, regardless of whether the jobs were executive, clerical or manual in character. If

people perceive or "structure" their community—to know, for example, whether they divide their fellow-townsmen into rich and poor, old-timers and newcomers, people who are good sports or those who are killjoys, or, like one respondent, into good people who attend church regularly, good people who don't attend church, and bad people or riffraff.

On the other hand, we cannot be sure that this is a valid technique unless the findings agree with other data obtained in the same community, or unless they suggest meaningful comparisons with other communities. That is to say, degree of class or status perception, as

shown by this technique, should correlate highly with other indices of stratification in the town. Or again, one would expect differences in the perceptual categories if one compared Yankee City with a frontier community in the west. Reported here are other data obtained in Ventura which seem to support the hypothesis that this western community has less class consciousness and class distinction than cities studied in the eastern, southern and midwestern sections of the United States.

After respondents had answered the above-mentioned question, they were asked several questions related specifically to class. While 75% of the sample said "There are different social classes in Ventura," 60% agreed "There is little talk of class and class distinction." Almost 60% answered that there is less class distinction in Ventura than in other places they know. These last two answers seem to support the hypothesis, although they may be due, in part, to local pride or civic loyalty. The importance of comparative data is very great if we are tó obtain meaningful interpretations of such items as these.

As the investigator and his research assistants continued their interviews, they observed much hesitation and doubt on the part of respondents with respect to the meaning of *social class*. A very frequent inquiry was "What do you mean by *class*?" A number of white collar people, for example, when asked in which class they belonged (Centers' question) would reply, "Well, working class, I guess, because I *work* for a living don't I?" Many respondents answered "Middle or working—aren't they the same?" Thirteen per cent of the sample solved the problem by insisting on two categories: "I'd say I'm both middle and working class." A quarter or a third of the sample seemed unfamiliar with,

or confused by, the concept of class.

Another aspect of the class identification answers should be noted: 43% of the manual workers in Ventura considered themselves middle class, as compared with only 20% of the manual workers in Centers' national sample. Perhaps this is not surprising, inasmuch as the upper 30% of skilled workers in Ventura rank as *Lower Middle class* on Warner's Index of Status Characteristics. Ventura is a prosperous town, with a high percentage of well paid skilled workers. Average family income for 1952 was $5800, a high figure even for the Pacifiç coast. (6)

Various sociological and economic data also support the thesis that Ventura is less class-structured than other communities. The Upper and Lower Lower groups are smaller than in either Yankee City or Jonesville, which means that 87% of the population is found in Warner's three middlemost groups —the Upper Middle, Lower Middle and Upper Lower. That is, using Warner's measures, we find fewer socioeconomic extremes in Ventura than in the communities he studied. Furthermore, while the west end of town is composed largely of working people's homes, the newly developed east end of town is populated by more or less equal numbers of business men, professional men, clerical workers, and skilled manual workers. A directory check of several sample streets in this area showed 30-40% manual workers living there (e.g. oilworkers, radio and TV technicians, welders, machinists, and carpenters). Most of these homes are ranch-type, 2-3 bedroom structures, on a 60x120 foot lot, costing from $10,000 to $16,000. It was impossible for the interviewers to tell from the exterior of a house, and in many cases from the interior as well, to which occupational group a person belonged. Perhaps this is not sur-

prising, inasmuch as the incomes of members of these four groups are very similar.

Some of the high status women's organizations in Ventura have a substantial percent of members whose husbands are manual workers. In the Ventura Woman's Club, for example, 25-30% of the members (and about the same percentage of officers and committee chairmen) are wives of skilled or semi-skilled workers. The 1952-53 president of the Junior Women's Club is the wife of a plasterer, and the vice-president the wife of a truck driver, while another member of the executive committee is

a sample of several dozen such occasions, there was a fairly equitable distribution of white collar and manual workers. The typical informal social gathering of this sort in Ventura seems to be one in which one-third to two-thirds of those attending are manual workers. As already indicated above, the line between the white collar worker and the manual worker seems much less definite in Ventura than it does in many other parts of the country.

For valid comparisons between communities, many kinds of data are necessary, and reliable statistics are often difficult to obtain.

TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN'S RATINGS OF SCHOOLMATES BY
SOCIAL CLASS FOR JONESVILLE AND VENTURA

Social Class	JONESVILLE 5 & 6 GRADES*		VENTURA (3 SCHOOLS) 5 & 6 GRADES		VENTURA 10 GRADE	
	Actual Per Cent of Children	Per Cent Chosen on Favorable Traits	Actual Per Cent of Children	Per Cent Chosen on 5 Favorable Traits	Actual Per Cent of Children	Per Cent Chosen on 5 Favorable Traits
U M	6	19	16	20	9	13
L M	17	27	45	47	36	26
U L	62	50	34	30	43	40
L L	15	4	5	3	13	21

* See Reference 4, pp. 79-80.

married to an oilworker. On the other hand, some of the women's organizations are composed almost exclusively of the wives of business and professional men, particularly those organizations which are county-wide in their membership.

An analysis was also made of less institutionalized, more informal social gatherings reported in the press (showers, teas, receptions, anniversary celebrations, etc.). In more than half the cases, out of

Fortunately it was possible, with the help of several Ventura school administrators and teachers, to collect school children's ratings of their classmates just as had been done in Jonesville. (4, Ch. 5) In the midwestern city it was found that higher class children were over-rated on favorable items, and lower class children were over-rated on unfavorable items. For example, in Jonesville, Upper Middle class children (6% of the total) received

19% of the total vote on favorable items. Lower Lower class children, 15% of the actual total, received only 4% of the favorable vote. Ventura, larger than Jonesville, had five elementary schools and similar ratings were obtained for the same grades—the fifth and sixth—as in Jonesville. Two of the schools had such a narrow range of socioeconomic statuses that they could not be used. But the other three showed results rather different from the earlier study. The Jonesville figures are given at the left side of the table below, and the comparable Ventura figures in the two columns in the center. Note that in Ventura the distribution of children given favorable votes agrees very closely with the actual socioeconomic distribution of youngsters in the population (rated, like the Jonesville youngsters, by the Index of Status Characteristics). There is a slight trend in the expected direction, but not by more than four percentage points in any case. The same trend

is to be seen in the tenth grade, except that the Lower Lower is over-chosen due to the popularity of a Negro boy from a low income home who won most of the choices for "best sport" and "best leader". The close approximation in the Upper Lower figures is due largely to the great popularity of a girl whose father is an oilworker.

To summarize: a new type of question has been suggested for use in determining the subjective significance of class as compared with other variables, and its correlation with other data obtained in Ventura, California, has been indicated. In this case, both the subjective and objective findings suggest somewhat less class distinction and class consciousness than have been discovered in other communities studied eariler. There is however, great need for using the same methods of research in several communities before valid comparisons can be made.

REFERENCES

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2. A possible exception is Walter Goldschmidt's *As You Sow*, (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1947) which reports on the social structure of three farming communities, each about 6,000-8,000 in population, in the San Joaquin Valley in California.

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4. W. L. Warner, *et al., Democracy in Jonesville,* New York: Harper and Bros., 1949.

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6. Figures were supplied by the *Ventura County Star-Free Press,* the local newspaper.

PLANT RELOCATION AND DISCARDED WORKERS*

EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

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In March of 1948, the Babcock Printing Press Manufacturing Company moved its plant from New London, Connecticut to Canton, Ohio. In May of 1949 this research was conducted to determine the impact of this movement on the more than 400 factory production workers who were employed by the company when it moved. All data in this study are based on a sample which represents 46.4 percent of the universe.

New England is now experiencing the second major exit of industry in the past forty or fifty years. During the early part of the century tens of thousands of workers saw their jobs vanish when the cotton manufacturing industry moved to the south. Today New England as well as other sections of the north-east is witnessing the movement of some of its industry to the south, west, and southwest.

Such plant mobility causes a number of problems to arise in the community from which the factory moved. The municipal government is faced not only with the problem of an increase in unemployment but with the concurrent loss of tax revenue. Local businesses find that the purchasing power of a segment of the community has been sharply curtailed. The workers from the plant find that they have been thrown into a labor market made increasingly competitive by their own numbers with all of the difficulties which accrue from such a situation.

This report is a partial assessment of the nature and extent of some of the workers' problems attending this type of social disorganization.

1. The vast majority of the workers employed by the Babcock Company had lived for an extended period of time in the immediate area. Ninety-five percent had lived near New London for five years or more; 85.5 percent for ten years or more.

2. Despite the severe hardships imposed upon them by the relocation of the plant, relatively few workers chose to move with the plant. The Babcock officials offered to pay the family moving expenses for about 20 percent of those they regarded as key workers and guaranteed a job to any other worker who wanted to move to Canton, Ohio. Only 7.3 percent of the workers went to Canton, a distance of about 600 miles; 4.2 percent moved elsewhere and 88.5 percent remained in the New London area at the date of this study, one year later. The net percentage of the workers who remained with the firm in Canton was even smaller than the above figure because some of the workers who moved with the firm switched to other jobs in the Canton area and some returned to New London.

3. The majority of the workers were beyond the age at which a worker is generally regarded as superannuated for purposes of initial employment. Fifty and seven-tenths percent of the employees were forty-five years of age and older at the time the New London plant was closed.

4. A large proportion of all the workers (27.7%) who remained in

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*Paper read at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, held in Atlantic City, September 3-5, 1952.

the New London area (and were still in the labor force) never obtained a steady job at any time in the fourteen month period following the closing of the New London factory. The 1948-49 period was characterized by a minor recession in American economic life.

5. Job insecurity was high even for those who did secure a position they regarded as steady during this period. Thirty-five percent of all the former plant workers remaining in the New London region were unemployed at the time this study was made.

6. The older workers, despite their greater skills, were much more seriously affected by the plant's relocation than were the younger workers both in terms of securing employment and in terms of job security.

7. The workers to find jobs; 27.7 percent never succeeded.

8. Despite the large number of agencies and techniques supposed to serve in formally organizing the employment market, these contributed relatively little to the re-employment of those workers who were successful in the job-hunting efforts.

9. A large number of the workers who did succeed in becoming re-employed found that the income in their new job was less than in their old job. Of those who were employed at the date of this study, 15.8 percent reported they were earning more than they were at Babcock's; 40.8 percent said they were earning about the same; and 40.0 percent stated they were earning less. There was no response from 3.3 percent.

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNGER AND OLDER WORKERS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS FOR FORMER BABCOCK EMPLOYEES REMAINING IN NEW LONDON AREA

Employment Status	Age	
	44 and under	*45 and over*
Secured Steady Job at Some Period	86.6	58.3
Did Not Secure a Steady Job at Any Time	13.4	41.7
	100.0	100.0
Employed as of Date 14 Months After	81.7	48.8
Not Employed as of Date 14 Months After	18.3	51.2
	100.0	100.0

7. Those who failed to locate a steady job within one month after the plant closed found it increasingly difficult to secure employment. Within one month 47.0 percent of all the employees who were thrown out of work had found new jobs. Success in securing re-employment dropped sharply after that time. It took from one to fourteen months for 25.3 percent more of

10. Forced job mobility resulted in a considerable shift out of industrial employment. Only 57.5 percent of the employed workers remained in industrial employment in their new jobs; 39.2 percent shifted to non-industrial work; 3.3 percent did not answer this question.

11. Forced job mobility resulted in down-graded re-employment for the group as a whole. An analysis

of the new positions obtained indicated that 28.3 percent of the workers were downgraded; 62.5 percent remained at about the same level; and 5.8 percent were upgraded.

12. The social security program was of major value in cushioning the shock of unemployment. Despite the fact that 37.4 percent of all the workers laid off at the time the Babcock Company closed were unemployed for a period of six to fourteen months, only 6.5 percent of these (2.4% of all the workers)

The relocation of the Babcock plant directly affected the individual worker and his family, the firm itself, the city government, the union, and the merchants of the community. Yet it was apparent that none of the parties involved had more than a vague comprehension of the consequences of the plant's relocation. As a result there were many serious blocks to the concensus needed for concerted action, not only between groups but within each group as well.

Lack of concensus on the part of

TABLE II.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL
JOB APPLICANTS BY METHOD USED
FOR FORMER BABCOCK EMPLOYEES REMAINING IN NEW LONDON AREA

Method	Succeeded in Getting Steady Job	Unsuccessful in Getting Steady Job
Going from Company to Company	50.0	82.6
Heard of Opening from Friend or Relative	22.5	87.0
State Employment Service	9.2	100.0
Private Employment Agency	3.3	19.6
Through the Union	4.2	19.6
Answering Newspaper Ad	5.8	63.0
Went into own Business	2.5	

found it necessary to resort to city relief.

Most of the unemployed workers, however, had exhausted the benefit period and were beginning to develop a feeling of desperation in regard to their economic circumstances for the immediate future.

13. Being unemployed for a period of a year can seriously deplete the savings of a worker. Those who did eventually secure steady employment at some period indicated that unemployment compensation was a significant factor in permitting them to support themselves without too drastically depleting their savings.

subgroups within each group resulted in internal disagreements not only as to means and procedures but even regarding the nature of the goals themselves. Needed action was too little and too late. The City Council, for example, did not take a step in regards to a rezoning which would have kept the Babcock Company (with its wages and taxes) in New London. The union was unable to decide whether the offer of a general wage decrease was preferable to having the firm move. The retail merchants never exerted their full potential pressure on the City Council to act.

Lack of knowledge both as to

consequences and as to means of getting concensus, therefore, played a large role in failing to keep the Babcock Company in New London. Conferences between the Company and city officials and the Company and union officials did occur, but at no time did the several parties genuinely cooperate to solve the problem.

This study indicates that social science research in the following areas might provide a basis for effective social action:

munication which obscure the significance of the common goal be removed in periods of crisis?

e. How can concensus be engineered in situations where conflicting values and interests lead to the withholding of information which would be of great value in securing that concensus?

f. What techniques would be most effective in dealing with long range involuntary unemployment?

g. Can a labor market, on a local, regional or inter-regional basis be

TABLE III.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS SUBJECT TO SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT BY AMOUNT OF SAVINGS SPENT FOR FORMER EMPLOYEES OF RELOCATED PLANT

Amount of Savings Spent	*Length of Time without Employment*	
	Less than One Month	*Still Unemployed after 14 Months*
Less than 10%	90.7	10.9
25-75%	2.6	23.9
Over 75%	2.6	58.7
No Answer	5.1	6.5
	100.0	100.0

a. How can worker mobility to meet the needs of a shifting economy be enhanced?

b. How can a locality retain its industry?

c. What can be done to give the unemployed worker who is over forty-five years of age a fair chance for re-employment?

d. How can the blocks to com-

more effectively organized to deal with the problem of plant relocation?

It is essential, moreover, that the research findings of social scientists regarding such questions as these be made available to firms, unions, and community agencies in such a form as to be meaningful to them.

REPORT OF THE FIRST JOINT MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS (SSSP) AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF SOCIAL ISSUES (SPSSI), FEBRUARY 14-15, 1953

All of the sessions of the meeting held February 14-15 at New York University were well attended. Over two hundred were present, including a good representation of SSSP members. Following is a brief summary of the five sessions:

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN ETHNIC RELATIONS — Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, Chairman. Jessie Bernard of Pennsylvania State College discussed the desirability of viewing people as they are and working to change behavior rather than attempting merely to change attitudes. She stressed the responsibilty of the research worker to make his findings available in easily usable form to policy makers and administrators.

The trend toward the use of social seience testimony in connection with segregation cases in the courts was discussed by Kenneth Clark of the City College of New York. He pointed out that such testimony is used by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to break down segregation by underpinning its arguments with evidence drawn from anthropology and social psychology.

Stuart Cook of New York University reviewed some of the research dealing with interracial association. He considered such aspects as the results of interracial housing, and the trend found in some communities toward the elimination of segregation. According to Dr. Cook, it is difficult to get this knowledge into the hands of policy-makers and administrators in ways that will influence decisions. In some cases this has been done, but there is need to use the mass media to increase the effectiveness of such knowledge.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR FREEDOM IN SCIENCE—Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College, Chairman. Members of the panel were Cora DuBois, Institute of International Education, Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College and H. H. Wilson, Princeton University.

Discussion centered around problems arising from "classified" research, the effects of Congressional investigations in the form of fear and insecurity, threats to academic tenure, and pressures leading to conformity. There was a lively discussion about the most effective way to meet the requests from Congressional committees to testify. It was agreed that the academic community must communicate an understanding of its position to the general public. Accordingly, a resolution proposed by Sidney Nelson of Brooklyn College was adopted, suggesting to the executive committees of both organizations that "a joint committee be set up to explore the relationship of loyalty oaths to academic freedom with respect to three areas of inquiry: one, fact finding; two, the potential approaches to national community action to combat suppression of academic freedom; and three, the possibility of joint planning and action with national representative bodies of other disciplines".

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS— An address by Walter H. C. Laves,

Chairman of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, and former Deputy Director General of UNESCO. Dr. Laves spoke of the need for social science research on problems of personnel selection and training for implementation of programs in backward areas, and for consideration of special governmental programs in underdeveloped countries.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNITY STUDIES—Conrad M. Arensberg of Columbia University, Chairman. Participants were Leo Srole, Cornell University Medical College; Marie Jahoda, New York University; Bernard Kutner, New York Hospital; and Joseph Bunzel, Mayor's Advisory Committee for the Aged.

Much of the discussion centered about the "psychological fit" of people in a community, with examples from studies of the new steel towns near Trenton. Questions were raised as to the application of "fit" as a concept; some members of the panel felt that it would not provide a picture of those who are not adjusted to a community, but only of those who are. There was also discussion of the difficulties in methodology as one moves from single to metropolitan communities. Research on one segment of the metropolitan community, the aged, was described.

HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE — Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, Chairman. Members of the panel were Karl Deutsch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, David Hertz of Columbia University, Donald V. McGranahan of the United Nations, and S. M. Lipset of Columbia University.

Much of the discussion centered around the relation between a given culture base and technological factors. In Western society and in other areas technological functions will become more complex and the machine-man ratio will increase. This emphasizes the importance of guiding technological change and discovering its consequences.

There are many problems involved in the spread of technology. These must be considered in relation to revolutionary changes occurring in many areas of the world, including rising nationalism. Economic problems are illustrated by the question of the rate of incorporation of technology and the kind of control that will emerge. From the Western point of view there are political problems. One of these is how to encourage the spread of Western democratic concepts and to make them attractive as they compete with the alternatives offered by Russion Communism. Social resistances of many kinds to the spread of technology are encountered.

Social scientists should assist in guiding the impact of technology upon Western society and other societies. In doing this they cannot avoid questions of values: whose values are to be used in introducing technology and guiding social change? For example, as technical assistance programs grow from their present small beginnings, it may well be that there will be consequences that will be judged to be unfortunate from the Western point of view.

The Program Committee consisted of Stanley H. Chapman, University of Bridgeport; David Hertz, Columbia University; S. S. Sargent, Columbia University; and S. M. Miller, Brooklyn College and Columbia University, chairman. The members of the Local Arrangements Committee were Wellman J. Warner, chairman, Joseph Bram, and Stuart Cook, all of New York University.

SSSP is especially grateful to

the officers and members of SPSSI for their cooperation. The excellent report of the meetings in the SPSSI News-Letter has been drawn upon generously in writing the above summary.

REPORT OF THE EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

The Editorial and Publications Committee is systematically scouring the literature to find suitable selections for the proposed SSSP book of readings, to be entitled *The Sociology of Mental Disorder and Mental Health*. The main sections of the book are tentatively designated: I. Theoretical Overview. II. Some Specific Sociological Contributions to Research on Mental Disorder and Mental Health. III. Marginal Problem Areas. IV. Future Research.

After gaps in the published literature have been determined, various specialists will be solicited for contributions. Any suggestions from members of SSSP will be welcomed. Write to the chairman of the Editorial and Publications Committee, Arnold M. Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

NEWS NOTES

Social Problems will be glad to publish, from time to time, brief notes from SSSP members regarding their research, writing, teaching, consultation, and other professional activities. Notes from college departments, other professional societies, foundations, and organizations and agencies concerned with social problems will also be welcome.